

**On aromatics and reeds** – All the transliterated forms are N/LB unless otherwise indicated.

1. <sup>sim</sup>ka-ṣi-<sup>2</sup>-a-tu<sub>4</sub> in a list of aromatics (contained in a letter from Nabonidus time belonging to the Ebabbarra archive, Sippar, J. MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 1996, 115, 148: 16, 5) is the same word as BHeb. qṣy<sup>h</sup> (the appellative is recorded only as pl. qṣy<sup>wt</sup>, Ps. 45, 9; the sg. is recorded only as a PN<sup>1</sup>), basically a powdered bark like cinnamon (see I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna and Leipzig 1924 [repr. Hildesheim 1967; henceforth *Flora*], 2, 113ff.). M. Zohary (*Encyclopaedia Biblica Instituti Bialik* 7, Jerusalem 1971, 214f., s.v. qṣy<sup>wt</sup>) pointed out that the identification of qṣy<sup>h</sup> with *Cinnamomum cassia* is based solely on the Biblical translations (cf. L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, J. J. Stamm *et al.*, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3rd ed. [henceforth *HALAT*] Leiden 1967-1996, 1048, s.v.). JAram. qṣy<sup>t</sup> renders qṣy<sup>wt</sup> (Syriac reproduces the Greek form qṣy<sup>2</sup>), whereas JAram. qṣy<sup>h</sup> renders Bibl. Heb. qdh (Ex. 30, 24, source P. see F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1907; repr. 1974 [henceforth *BDB*], s.v.).<sup>2</sup> <sup>sim</sup>ka-ṣi-<sup>2</sup>-a-tu<sub>4</sub>, is with the expected Akkadian dissimilation of emphatics (Geers<sub>4</sub> Law). MacGinnis<sub>4</sub> emendation ka-ṣi-ṣi-<sup>2</sup>-a-tu<sub>4</sub>, is unnecessary, as the only other occurrence of this item, LB (in a literary text) ka-ṣi-ṣi-ha-tu<sub>4</sub> (F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 18, iv, 6; cf. R.C. Thompson, *A dictionary of Assyrian botany*, London 1949, 222; *AHW*. 458b; *CAD* K. 266a), has an extra -ṣi- by dittography. The word is recorded as kasiḥ in Herodotus (all the occurrences have variante with -ss), who lived c. 100 years after Nabonidus. He reports that it was imported from Arabia. This Semitic (Arabian) loanword in Greek is spelled kassia in Dioscurides (1st century A.D., see H. Lewy, *Semitische Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin 1895, 37). It is needless to say that the occurrence of <sup>sim</sup>ka-ṣi-<sup>2</sup>-a-tu<sub>4</sub>, in N/LB is the final proof that N/LB kasû cannot render ‘cassia’. F. Brown *et al.* (*BDB* 892b, s.v. qṣ<sup>h</sup>) suggested that qṣy<sup>h</sup> derives from the same root as Arab. quḏā<sup>h</sup> «fine dust». However, the transcriptions of qṣy<sup>h</sup> do not reflect a lateralized middle radical.<sup>3</sup>

2. *šimšá-li-ha-[tú?]*, which is recorded in the same N/LB list as *šimka-ši-<sup>2</sup>-a-tu<sub>4</sub>*. (MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 1996, 115, 148: 16, 11), is a new kind of aromatics. If the restoration is correct, *šá-li-ha-[tú]* can render Sabean *s<sup>1</sup>lht*, which is recorded in a short list of aromatics (J. Pirenne, *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes* 1, Louvain 1977, 275f.: *YM* 467). Sab. *s<sup>1</sup>* is Proto-Sem. /š/ (as in *š<sup>2</sup>-L = s<sup>1</sup>L*). Pirenne dated this short text to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. merely on paleographical grounds. She compared *s<sup>1</sup>lht* with Arab. *salīhat*. The latter denotes, according to the Arab lexicographers (as summarized by Lane, s.v.), a certain perfume or odiferous substance resembling bark stripped off and having forking projections. No botanic identification of *salīhat* was made. Since the N/LB reflex of *qsy<sup>c</sup>h* is recorded together with *šá-li-ha-[tú]* (cf. above), I cannot follow the translation of the Sabean hapax *s<sup>1</sup>lht*/ Arab. *salīhat* as «cassia», suggested without elaboration in 1982 by A.F.L. Beeston, M. A. Ghul, W. W. Müller and J. Ryckmans (*Sabaic dictionary*, Louvain and Beirut, 126, s.v. *s<sup>1</sup>lht*). Is BHeb. *šhlt*, an ingredient of the holy incense (Ex. 30, 34, in a list of aromatics [*smym*] between *nṭp* and *hḷbnh*, Vul. *onyx*, Syr. *tpr<sup>2</sup>*, i.e. *Unguis odoratus*), a metathesis of \**šlht* < *s<sup>1</sup>lht*? It is doubtful whether Ug. *šhlt* denotes an aromatic substance (a cognate of *šhlym*, in which case it would refer to an edible plant like most of the other items of the same list [*UT*, 112: vegetarian foodstuffs, honey and birds, line 4]),<sup>4</sup> the more so since Ugaritic has /h/ and not /h̄/.

3. *qa-nu-a-te* (NA) ‘reeds<sub>4</sub> (see A. Y. Ahmad, *al-Rāfīdān* 17, 1996, 246 ad 4f.) is the equivalent of Akkadian *qa-na-(a-)te*, but ends with an Aram. pl., cf. *mḥnwt* (R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1969, 53 with n. 20, cf. R. Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 9, 1982, 122: B, 1 ad *nšwn*, *s<sup>3</sup>wn* in the bilingual from Tall-Faḥariye, NA *A-ri-a-ú-a-ti/Ar-ia-u-a-te* and LB *un-qu-a-tú*).<sup>5</sup>

1. Job’s daughter. It is hardly amenable to an alternative interpretation (Ug. *qs<sup>c</sup>t* «bow», Gordon, *UT* 479: 2258). LXX Kas(s)ian (acc.) preceding *Qrn hpwk*, i.e. «horn of antimony». LXX translate II the three names of Job’s daughters. Plants, aromatic and cosmetic items produce female names (cf. Stamm, *Namengebung*, 255f).

2. Pace J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling (*Dictionary of the Northwest Semitic inscriptions* 2, Leiden 1995, 1022, s.v.), Mid. Heb. *qs<sup>c</sup>* (J. Naveh, *On stone and mosaic. The Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions from ancient synagogues*, Jerusalem 1978 [Heb.], 49,3) does

not belong here, but is the outcome of *qṣḥ* «black cumin» (*Nigella sativa*, see Löw, *Flora* 3, 120f.) with *ḥ* > <sup>ʿ</sup> (see Y. Sussmann, *TarbiâO(z;)* 43, 1973/4, 149 with n. 436; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-fshutah: a comprehensive commentary on the Tosefta, Order Zera'im*, part 1, New York 1955 [in Heb.], 360: 28 with n. 20). JAram. *qṣḥ*, *qyṣḥ*<sup>ʿ</sup> denotes 'a type of onion<sub>4</sub> according to M. Sokoloff (*A dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, Ramat-Gan 1990, 501, s.v.).

3. One would expect <-*ld/ṭ*->, which is the reflex of the ancient (south) Arabian equivalent of classical Arabic /âO(d;)/ in cuneiform transcription of Arabian forms (NA *Ru-ul-d/ta-A+A-û ~ Rudâ*<sup>ʿ</sup>, see R. Borger, *OrNS* 26, 1957, 10f.; R. C. Steiner, *The case for fricative-laterals in Proto-Semitic*, New Haven 1977, 92f.). Also the Greek transcriptions do not reflect an original lateral.

4. Cf. *UT* 327: 1815; see Degen, *WO* 4 (1967/8), 58, n. 48 and *HALAT*<sup>ʿ</sup>, 1356, s.v. with lit.

5. Compare perhaps the biblical toponym *Qnât*, LXX Kana(a)q, which refers to the same place as Roman-Byzantine KavvnaqaĒKavnwqa, modern *il-Qanawât* in Ḥawrân (a Nabatean-speaking region with a hypothetical Aramean substrate; M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine*, Jerusalem 1976, 45b; the modern name is pl. of the Arabic cognate *qanā*<sup>ʿ</sup> < *qanât* «spear-shaft; pipe»). In view of the long *a* before *t*, this place in Ḥawrân cannot be identical with NA [xx]-[*ni*<sup>1</sup>-*te*] (see the justified reservations of H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, 139 ad 6<sup>ʿ</sup>). A plausible restoration of the latter is suggested by N. Na'aman ([*Mi*?-*in*?]-[*ni*<sup>1</sup>-*te*] of Ammon, in M. Liverani, ed., *Neo-Assyrian geography*, Rome 1995, 104f.).

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